1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore 'n-gulye-tikitin ntinoel.

in gourds. Some drink it pure;[1] others mix it with milk[1].

There are a few other things which the Masai eat.

Enyasi il-mdruak oo 'Ngorôyok ol-kumben áitashi-laki e-makat o ol-kumben loo-'l-murua. Netii 'l-cook too-'n-gumashi ol-kumben oidoîgo, ntji en-giangi. Netii eli kulikae cook too-'l-mótio.

Some old men and women chew tobacco mixed with salt and *Ostmum suave*, whilst others sniff ground tobacco up their nostrils: this latter is called snuff. Others again smoke pipes.

Ilok eli 'l-murua, kake matok pikin. Menyasi ninje 'l-eyok arnki 'n-doiye ol-kumben, nemtok; etoni aka.

Those of the warriors who like it also take snuff. The boys and girls, however, neither take snuff nor chew tobacco[2].

Metumil-Maasai ol-kumben, ana maiytio natutura; kake ainyoîgo too-'l-mook, dinoeye ang-orno oo 'n-dare tasati.

The Masai do not grow tobacco themselves, for they do not know how to dig. They buy it from savages, exchanging it for butter and lean goats.

Memiraki 'l-Maasai 'l-mook in-giaka supati, 'n-giaka ainpia aka oo nemasia kulia, oo naiba 'l-saba, ninje aka emiraki 'l-mook, oo 'n-dare ndruak oo 'n-dasati.

The Masai do not sell good cattle to the savages; they only give them barren cows, or those which have no milk, or which do not care for their calves. These and old or lean goats and sheep are the only animals they part with.

Ntuk eli 'l-ndruak in-aishi, nainyoîgo 'l-muruan o en-jui too-'l-mook.

The old men drink honey-wine, and they purchase from the savages two kinds of beer, called Ol-muru and En-jui.

'N-gure aka ntinoe en-aisho najue. Pîki en-dîki ntinoe il-ndruak te-'n-aisho najue il-changuro aka.

It is only the children who like wild honey: old men eat the comb full of grubs[3].

[1] This custom is also common among the Bari (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 170).

[2] In olden days it was the privilege of rich old men and their chief wives only to take tobacco, which was called ol-chani loo-'ng-enyok, the spermatozoa.

[3] The Masai obtain their honey by following the *Indicator* bird.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Maasai FL12

poison is being made and when honey-wine is being brewed. During the time 634
that a man is making poison (eight days) he is treated almost as an outcast. He 278
must leave his house at 6 a.m. and not return till 7 p.m., when he must rub clay on his body. He may not eat when the sun is above the horizon; he may only relieve nature far away from the kraal; and he must sleep alone. If he were to break any of these rules it is believed that the poison would be useless. When 634
honey-wine is to be brewed a man and a woman are selected for the purpose, 275
neither of whom has had sexual intercourse for two days. A hut is set apart for them to live in until the honey-wine is ready for drinking (six days), during which time they may not sleep together. As soon as the honey-wine is ready they receive payment, and go to their respective homes. Were they to have sexual intercourse during the six days that the honey-wine is brewing, it is believed that the wine would be undrinkable, and the bees that made the honey would fly away.

Mothers-in-law and their sons-in-law (*eng-aputoni*) must avoid one another 606
as much as possible, and if a son-in-law enters his mother-in-law's hut she must 607
retire into the inner compartment and sit on the bed, whilst he remains in the outer compartment; they may then talk. Own brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindoni le-ngai* and *o-sindoni o-ngai*) must also avoid one another, though this rule does not apply to half-brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindoni* and *o-sindoni*). This rule is possibly due to the fact that when a man dies his own 606
brother may not marry his widow, though there is no objection to his half-brother 607
(paternal) or one of his paternal cousins taking her to wife. In fact, the only 587
person who may marry a widow is one of the deceased husband's half-brothers 601
or paternal cousins. It frequently happens, however, that widows never re-marry but live with their children in the kraal of the eldest living brother of their late husband, who becomes the guardian of their children.

Divorce is almost unknown amongst the Masai, and it is only barren women 586
who may be divorced. But if a woman is barren it is usual for her husband to give her some of his children by another wife to bring up. Daughters are usually selected; but if there are several sons the youngest and the youngest but two may be given to the corpse-eater. Where a barren woman is a bad woman and is disliked by her husband and his other wives, she may be divorced, in which case her father or his heirs must refund the cattle paid for her, and she is at liberty to re-marry.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F L12 Masai F L12

abandoned, and, though meat and milk were still the main items of his eating, he could now vary it with vegetable food obtained by his wife from neighbouring agricultural tribes. Luxuries, also, he might now indulge in. He sported a fancy snuff-box and tobacco-box of ivory or rhinoceros' horn, and delighted to rap up his materials as he handed it to a friend. He chewed tobacco (mixed always with natron), though he never smoked. Then, as often as convenient, he liked to foregather with his friends, and have a jolly carouse over beer or mead.

It is pleasant to know that with this change in his mode of life there was a corresponding alteration (very much for the better) in his views of things. He delighted to talk with the traders whom before he had gloried in killing or annoying, and would in token of good-will cordially exchange the courtesies of life by spitting upon them and being spat upon. In his conversation he showed an intelligence far superior to any specimen of the Bantu tribes. He had no suspicions, and was communicative about his affairs and beliefs. He would even at times exercise a friendly guardianship of passing traders, and was able to ward off many a disaster by judicious warning. He was not slanted in his generosity, and generally gave far more than he got. He has been known even to protect stranyed persons, and tend sick men left behind.

The softening down of his ferocity exerted upon his face. The habitual scowl gradually died away, and was replaced by a more pleasing and genial expression. His thoughts turned more to the strange mystery of life. Ah, alas! had little that was cheering to look forward to. He believed in the existence of a Supreme Being, and yet had not the faintest conception of an after-life. Unlike the men of the Bantu races, he did not believe in ghosts or spirits. He had no theory of dreams, and did not imagine like the negro that when he dreamed he was really experiencing all that was passing through his brain, and that his soul or spirit was actually travelling around somewhere, having a good time of it, unclogged by his body. Masai believed nothing of that; indeed, whether he had any idea on the subject, I have not been able to determine. When the man died, he was finished utterly, except so far as he might go piecemeal to build up the body of a hyæna, a vulture, or a carnivorous shark. The Masai believe in annihilation. To bury a corpse would, they think, be to poison the soil: it must be thrown to the wild beasts without ceremony.

9:Forbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12 Kisonko

After going through the ceremony, the new elders can drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry about short bladed spears (*endoro serr*) in place of the long polished warrior's spear; in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned.

On return to their homes those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the paternal home, for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters.

From the foregoing it may be concluded that the average Masai male spends at least 10 years of his life as a moran. What are his economic duties and privileges during this period? In olden times his primary duty was to defend the country and, by raiding other tribes, to maintain and increase the cattle population. But European intervention has deprived him of his main occupation, and the only duties which the moran by custom seem bound to perform to-day are (a) drawing water from wells for his father's cattle or superintending their watering at flowing streams, (b) cutting the thorn tree branches which form the fence of the home, and (c) escorting home night-bound cattle or searching for lost beasts. It was natural that few everyday tasks should be imposed on the standing army, but although the military duties are now in abeyance, the moran have retained the privilege of freedom from responsibility together with many other perquisites. These include access to the unmarried girls and the right to demand milk in any home. In the matter of bullocks for slaughter in ol pul, the camp at which the moran may alone eat meat, the warriors seem to have a fairly free hand; if an elder withholds his consent, his moran son (with friends) will frequently help himself. It is not improbable that with the prohibition of raiding the moran exert these privileges in greater degree than they used to. If the elders are to be believed they spent a considerable portion of their time as warriors absent from home on raids, living in the bush on stolen cattle preparatory to stealing more. Consequently the time which they spent wandering round the homes making their demands must have been considerably curtailed.

Another duty, or rather, restriction placed on the moran was abstinence from tobacco and beer. The former is largely breaking down, but fortunately the latter still holds to a considerable extent. This is not so with the Arusha, amongst whom drunken brawls between groups of moran are not infrequent.

The above largely refers to the unmarried moran; once they settle down, even before the eunoto ceremony, their mode of life is practically indistinguishable from that of a newly made elder.

Elderhood is in itself marked by different stages, each of which has its own privileges and responsibilities. The members of the generation immediately above that of the moran are mostly concerned in family matters, establishing their own gains, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives. The generation next above the most junior elders, as explained earlier in this chapter, is responsible for the

448 D. Storms Fox.—*Further Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony.*

684 *Boyhood. Sex Life.*—In past times uncircumcised boys were severely punished by the warriors if they had sexual intercourse with a girl of any sort. This is no [178] longer the case, probably because the warriors are afraid of Government interference [648] should they ill-treat the boys.

Should an uncircumcised boy have intercourse with a married woman he may, when his time comes to be circumcised, fail to find an elder who will sit behind him [309] according to custom and hold him during the operation, but may have to sit unsupported. In an instance which I observed a boy who had so offended was circumcised in due form on payment of a fine of four cows.

881 The elders who decide when a new circumcision is to take place are those of 561 the *Ol-Piron* generation to that which is about to be circumcised.

Ol-Piron means a firestick, and its significance is explained below under organization of generations and ages.

Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.—The Masai call this ceremony *Kudolonot o ol-Giteng*, which means the tearing of the ox. *Ol-Giteng* is the general word for an ox and is not confined to the one used at the ceremony. It must be performed first by the Il Kakonyuki section. I have not seen it performed.

881 *Circumcision.*—I will endeavour to describe a circumcision as I saw it. On my arrival a few minutes before sunrise the two boys who were candidates were standing naked and shivering outside one of the village gates. They had previously been completely shaved. An old man poured a little water over each from a pannikin. Ox hides were brought out and each boy sat on one. Each boy was held by an elder sitting behind him. They were just outside the village with their backs [304] to the thorn fence which encircles the village. The operator appeared and circum- [413] cised each in turn. He was a Kikuyu and performed the operation with a dirty-looking razor of a type made in Birmingham or Germany.

As soon as the operation was finished new sandals were put on the boy's feet by the elders; and the elder who was sitting behind him stood up, still holding him, and walked him off backwards through the village gate.

As soon as both boys had been circumcised the operator rushed off to repeat the performance at a village near by before the sun was high. I went back into the village with the elders. One of them drew blood from the neck of an ox for one of the candidates. We went into the hut of the mother of one of the candidates, where [203] the boy sat silent on a bed while we elders refreshed ourselves with honey wine. The boy is not allowed to speak for a period after the ceremony, but I have forgotten the length of the period.

A branch of a tree is tied to the front of the boy's mother's hut by leather thongs passed through the wall.

561 *The Novitiate.*—Nowadays the novices do not need to remain in this stage till 178 all the other candidates have been circumcised, but shave after a few months. They

965 The Masai know nothing of a life after death, but it is thought that *Loibons* may live on in the form of black snakes.

968 If a death occurs in a hut it is not evacuated until the village moves in the ordinary way (the Masai being nomadic, seldom stay for long in one village). If, however, the village only moves to a new site close to the old one, the family in which the death has occurred must move further away and remain away for two or three months.

969 If a woman has lost her eldest male child she binds a few turns of iron wire below the knees of her next surviving son, in order to make him look like a girl* that death may pass him by. A man still wears these coils of wire even when he is old. Such a man is nicknamed *Ol o sapingi* (*the man of the iron wire*).

965 If the head of the family dies a white or a black bullock is slaughtered, and the people smear the fat from the front of the ribs on their bodies and on the garments of the deceased.

957 *Sickness and Medicines.*—The Masai have their treatment for numerous diseases. Members of the Il Dorowro clan appear to be the most skilled in medicine. They have often shown me herbs which they use, but I have for the most part forgotten the Masai names for them, and lack of botanical knowledge prevents me from giving their scientific names. Such Masai as understand the use of herbs have never shown any reluctance to tell me about it.

Sheep's fat plays an important part in nearly all their medicines. For instance: (*a*) If a Masai is bitten by a mad dog (disease called by Masai *Nong'a gutok*, presumably rabies) a sheep must be immediately slaughtered and the fat boiled with bark of *Il Kilawiti* trees. The sufferer drinks this mixture and his skin is smeared all over with the contents of the sheep's stomach. This is said to be a certain preventive if done at once. I described the treatment in greater detail in an appendix to the Narok District Intelligence Report for April, 1929, and it is probably still on file in the Government office.

(*b*) *Anthrax* (Masai *Endorii*).—When this disease appears as an external sore a sheep is slaughtered and the sheepskin is bound round the affected part. The patient drinks the fat of the sheep. He must on no account be allowed to drink water or milk, and if he does so he is almost certain to die. This disease is fairly common among the Masai, but they usually recover from it. In the opinion of some Europeans the Masai treatment is more efficacious than ours.

973 *Honey Wine* (Masai *En-Aishai*).—This is much used at religious ceremonies and other occasions of importance. It is a very pleasant beverage. To make it, honey and water are mixed in about equal quantities in a special gourd called *E-Mauri*, literally "the egg." To this are added the dried fruits of the *Sarcocaulon*

* Masai girls wear big ornaments of iron wire.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

tree (I do not know its scientific name) cut in pieces lengthwise (Masai call them *E Supuro*). The mixture is put in a warm place to ferment for two, three, or four days. The alcoholic content varies according to the time it has fermented and the proportion of honey to water. It is sometimes very potent. The *E Supuro* are removed when it is fermented enough. An inferior quality of wine can be made by substituting sugar for honey. 073

Clans.—The Masai clans are patrilineal. The clan organization governs marriage, adoption, and inheritance. The two last will be discussed later. The clans are therefore of domestic rather than political importance. The clan organization extends throughout all the Masai, largely independent of the territorial section organization. The following instances, however, would seem to indicate that they follow territorial grouping to a slight extent:— 414

Loitokitok contains about equal numbers of *'Loosh Kitong* and *'Loodo Mongi* (terms explained below). The Kaloosi are predominantly Il Molelian, but the other clans are represented. The Il Dalalegutuk are nearly all of the Laitayuk clan. In the Purko the Laitayuk clan is unrepresented.

The clan name Laitayuk may or may not have a connection with the small territorial section of the same name situated in Tanganyika Territory. In Kenya Laitayuk is a true clan which divides into sub-clans, and it is as such that I propose to treat it.

All the Masai clans[1] are contained within two main groups called *'Loosh Kitong*, meaning "the [people] of the black ox," and *'L-oodo mongi*, meaning "the [people] of the red bullocks." (I do not know the origin of these terms.)

If the warriors make a successful raid the raided stock is first divided into two parts, one part for each of these main groups, which then subdivide the spoil amongst themselves.

The *'Loosh Kitong* are comprised by the following main clans:—*'L Aimer*, *'Loghumae*, *'L Aitayuk*, Il Bartimaro. Sometimes these are loosely grouped together and all called *'L Aimer*.

The *'L Aimer* clan proper has the following sub-clans:—*'E-kitongi*, Il Purkonoti (?), Il Lokitoi, Engoji Nanyuki, *'Loodo Kiabu*.

The *'L Aitayuk* subdivides as follows:— Siria, Il Pujoe, Il Makoperia, Il Marumae.

I cannot remember the sub-clans of the *'Loghumae* or the Il Bartimaro.

The *'Loodo Mongi* contains the following main clans:—Il Molelian, Il Damanoe, Il Magwaro. I cannot subdivide them from memory.

I once wrote down a table of clans and sub-clans, but have not got it to hand. It required considerable labour, because a Masai himself seldom knows to which main clan to assign sub-clans other than his own.

[1] Cf. Hollis, p. 280. But the information there given is only partially correct.

/35 cont./

276 adds some natron salt and beef fat, frequently also pulverized bark of ol amara (Ocimum suave Wild.), and mixes the whole by further grinding. Small boxes (en dulet -- 'n dulets) made out of wood, bamboo, cattle or sheep horn, or even out of the horn of the Rhinoceros bicornis, which often are quite attractively carved and decorated with beads, serve as snuffboxes (Fig. 6). They are worn around the neck on thin chains made out of iron wire.

Fig. 5. (1/4) Vessel for the preparation of honey beer.

273 Another luxury, also intended only for married men, is a kind of honey beer (en alacho sauga) (Fig. 7). One dissolves honey in water and adds a piece of the root of the sappe aloe, or ogwell. /36/ or a peeled and cooked piece of the root of the so-called liver-sausage tree (1)

1. Named after the resemblance of the fruit to a liver sausage.

(ol darbel -- Kigelia aethiopica), both as a taste corrective and to hasten the fermentation. The mixture is allowed to stand and ferment three to five days in a warm place, say, in the vicinity of the hearth fire. Before it is drunk, one often puts in a few branches of leaves from the ol gonjer bush, I suspect in order to stop the vinegar fermentation. The honey beer is quite strongly intoxicating, so that a drinking bout usually ends with complete drunkenness. Other brews, which the sedentary Negroes bring to the kraal for sale and which are made out of bananas and Eleusine, maize, or sorghum, are milder. The Masai do not distinguish these with names, but rather call them generally ol mara.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

701 836 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her *on sandja* -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 857 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 233 47 [378] [472] Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for /it/ the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep, while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the individual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on account of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ol mowat takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous. Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held outside the kraal: a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 10 appears here/ or forest is chosen.

701 242 244 [473] [476] 674 For these forest meals (*ei hol, e hol*) mess companies are formed in every warrior kraal, which are designated *ekir' ei hol* and which consist of five or six members, each of whom is called *ge ekir ei hol*. Such banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called

690 *ei ailor* and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

/365 cont./

824 243. eá gómbêt (1)

1. Also called eá gamba.

(Eragrostis megastachia Link.). It is regarded as the very best fodder gram, especially for cattle and is therefore also called e' rube Eig ai.

244. ol gólgórîá (Oxygia decumbens Pomk.). Good fodder for small livestock.

245. eá gólín (Sida Schimperiana Hochst.). Good fodder for small livestock.

246. eá goniai. A secret medicine of the ol oiboni, who gives it as an amulet against fever.

247. eá gólíai oo olgírírám (Dyschoriste Hildebrandtii). Fodder for small livestock.

248. ol gólgíl (Rhamnus prinoides l 'Hérit.). Older men drink a decoction of the wood to cure muscular rheumatism.

[673] /366/ 249. ol gólgít. A few twigs with leaves are put in the honey beer, first -- so it seems -- to prevent acetic fermentation, and then because there is attributed to this decoction an effect driving away taeniae and ascarids.

250. eá górbôrît (Euphorbia spurtiflora Vlk.). One fears the milky juice, which, as soon as it gets in the eye, produces a rather painful inflammation.

251. eá gwaí mórór (Cycnium Meyeri-Johannis Engl.). Fodder for small livestock.

252. eá gíjínê (Cyathula Merkeri Gilg) (1).

1. Described by E. Gilg.

Cyathula Merkeri Gilg n. sp.; suffrutex humilis caule subterraneo ligneo apice ramos numerosos erectos iterum paullo ramosos emittente, ramis parce hispidis; foliis oppositis obovato-oblongis usque oblongis, apice subrotundatis, apice ipso breviter apiculatis, basin versus sensim in petiolum brevem angustatis, membranaceis, integris, parce

/371 cont./

824 351. oi ɓɔlɔ̌ɔ̌ l oi bɨrgɛ̌l (Rhynchosia caribaea D.C.). Good fodder for small livestock.

352. oi ɓɔlɔ̌ɔ̌l (Erythrina tomentosa R. Br.). Approximately six finger-sized pieces of wood are cooked in goat-meat broth. The soup is drunk as a cure for gonorrhea.

353. oi odoa (Maesa lanceolata). One chews several (approximately six to ten) of the pungently spicy grains for constipation. The frequent consumption of the pounded grains in beef blood acts as a nerve stimulant for the warriors.

354. oi oduaraj = oi asajet.

355. oi oduŋ ginowi. If children eat the root -- mistaking it for the oi dirgolan plant -- they have pains in the rectum.

356. oi ogilidia (Coleus kilimandscharicus *Gürke*). The juice of the peppermintlike-smelling leaves is dripped into the eyes of cattle to cure inflammation.

357. oi ogilidia gta. The cow is given a leaf decoction to hasten the expulsion of the afterbirth, if this takes an abnormally long time.

358. oi ɔ̌ɔ̌ŋ̌ (Boerhavia diffusa L.). A root decoction is drunk for articular rheumatism.

359. eŋg ɔ̌ɔ̌ŋ̌ŋ̌ (Justicia flava Vahl.).

360. oi ogor l olŋok (Pennisetum spec.). Good fodder gram, valued especially for bulls.

361. oi ogoreŋo. Good fodder gram.

362. oi ogoŋdim.

363. eŋg olbaraŋ (Ampelocissus abyssinica Pl.). The blue, grapelike fruits are edible.

364. oi olbor benek (Dregea rubicunda K. Sch.). The root bark, together with that of oi mogolgora, is used to make necklaces. Powdered root is sprinkled in the hair as perfume. A root decoction is popularly added to the honey beer as a taste corrective. It is also regarded as loosening for catarrh and, for this, is drunk with meat broth, or, as a laxative, between the consumption of milk and meat.

365. oi olbergabe = oi olborkaba (Tricholaena rosea Nees) is a good fodder gram.

301
302
273